

DOKUMENTI

39. 1922., studeni 24., Izvješće poslanika Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu o „političkim prilikama u Kraljevini“ u kojemu govori i o posjetu dvojice zastupnika Hrvatskoga bloka Narodnoj skupštini, kao i o sve većim nesuglasicama oko Radića između skupina koje su bile za ulazak u rad Skupštine i onih koji su bili za nastavak suzdržavanja.

NARA, M 358, R 2, 860H.00/158

Belgrade, November 24, 1922.

Despatch No. 1702

The Honorable

The Secretary of State,
Washington.

Sir:

Referring to my Despatch No. 1564 of September 15th last, relative to the Parliamentary and internal political situation, in which I mentioned the meeting at Zagreb of the so-called Congress of Intellectuals and the attendance at this Congress of the President of the Democratic Party and several others of its prominent members resulting in a threatened split in that party. I have the honor to inform you that soon after the announced caucus of the Democratic Party was held in Belgrade. At this caucus Mr. Pribitchevich rather violently attacked especially Mr. Davidovitch, the President of the party, for having attended a congress which criticized the Constitution which he, Mr. Davidovitch, had signed and under which the Democratic party were governing the country. Mr. Davidovitch replied that as President of the party he considered it to be his duty to keep informed of the currents of political opinion and that he had not taken part as a member of the Congress but merely as an observer. He then offered his resignation from the Presidency of the party. After considerable debate, the opinion prevailed that it was particularly advisable to avoid any split in the party and a resolution was finally adopted, of which I enclose a translation made from the Belgrade "Pravda", in which it is declared that the party's internal policy must be directed towards the application of the present Constitution, avoiding any modifications in it until it has been tried and its merits or demerits actually recognized. On the following day, to conciliate Mr. Davidovitch and his partizans, an additional resolution was passed, of which a translation is also enclosed from the Belegrade "Demokratia", the material part of which is to the effect that the President of the Party will have full liberty regarding the preparation of plans for the party's action, the adoption of such plans however being reserved for the full meeting of the party. Mr. Davidovitch was thereupon requested to withdraw his resignation and did so, the threatened split in the party being avoided, at all events for the present.

Soon after this the caucus of the Radical party met and Mr. Pashitch, the Premier and President of that Party, expressed the opinion that the internal political situation required serious consideration in view of the recent Congress of Intellectuals which had created serious difficulties which had been still further obscured by the ambiguous resolution of the Democratic party, apparently authorizing its President to continue conversations with organizations which criticized the Constitution. Mr. Pashitch also referred to a recent meeting of the Radical Party in the Banat held at Sombor in which blame had freely been expressed at the continued collaboration of the party with the Democrats. He declared that further cooperation in the Cabinet with this party might not be possible resignation of the Radical Ministers. I enclose in this connection a translation of an official communiqué published by the central committee of the Radical party in its official organ, the "Samouprava". As stated in my Despatch No. 1564, above referred to, a crisis has long been latent in the Cabinet and the continued cooperation of the Radicals and Democratic Ministers, who chiefly compose it, has been merely a matter of political expediency. It does not appear clearly what Mr. Pashitch's object was in making the threat of possible resignation, above mentioned, but it may be that he considered that the tie had come, in view chiefly of the difficult situation of the Democratic party, finally be break loose from them, and bring about new parliamentary elections through which he considered that the Radical party might return to Parliament insufficient strength to form an all Radical Government.

Be this as it may, the Greek defeat, which occurred approximately at this time, was undoubtedly an element in inducing Mr. Pashitch soon after to change his mind. At all events when the Radical caucus adjourned it also passed an ambiguous resolution and soon after Mr. Pashitch declared that the external political situation made it necessary to avoid any Cabinet crisis for the present. Rumors are still current however that several modifications in the personnel of the Cabinet are likely soon to take place. The only one which thus far has occurred is the resignation of General Vasitch²¹⁰ as Minister of War and the appointment of General Pechitch²¹¹, hitherto Chief of Staff, and his successor, as reported in my Despatch No. 1679 of the 12th instant, page 2.

Parliament met again on October 15th and two days later the session was declared closed and a new session was called to meet immediately. This necessitated the election of a new President, Vice Presidents and Secretaries of Parliament. The Democratic party, who by an agreement with the Radicals have the appointment of the President of the Parliament, proposed the reelection of the former President, Dr. Ribar. This the Radicals categorically opposed because of Dr. Ribar's attendance at the Zagreb Intellectuals

²¹⁰ Vasić, Miloš (1859. – 1935.), divizijski general. U Kraljevini Srbiji bio je ministar vojni (1900. – 1901.). U Kraljevini SHS bio delegat kraljevske vlade u Splitu 1919., zapovjednik I., III. i IV. armijske oblasti, ministar vojske i mornarice (1922.). (Mile Bjelajac, *Generali i admirali Kraljevine Jugoslavije 1918-1941. Studija o vojnoj eliti i biografski leksikon* (Beograd: Institut za noviju istoriju Srbije-Dobra d.o.o., 2004), 298).

²¹¹ Pešić, Petar (1871. – 1944.), armijski general. Bio šef Vojne delegacije na Mirovnoj konferenciji u Parizu, ministar vojske i mornarice (1922. – 1924.), od 1924. počasni adutant kralja. (Bjelajac, *Generali i admirali*, 242).

Congress. The Democrats thereupon showed considerable irritation, declaring that the Radicals were systematically objecting to all their candidates so as to eliminate their strongest men from office. Finally however they consented to nominate Mr. Edo Lukinitch²¹², who was accepted by the Radicals and elected by a vote of 124 to 88. I may state that Dr. Lukinitch is a Croat and has long been a champion of national unity. He was formerly a member of the Croatian Sabor (Diet) and at one time its Vice President. In the first Cabinet after the Union he held the portfolio of Posts and Telegraphs and he was later a candidate for President of the Constitutional Convention but withdrew for reasons of health. He appears to be an excellent choice for his present important post.

Upon the opening of the new session a considerable sensation was created by the appearance of two deputies of the Croatian Block.²¹³ One of these merely observed the proceeding from a gallery but the other, Dr. Hausler²¹⁴ took his seat in the house, amid general cheers, and proceeded in a speech to make his attitude clear and to explain his coming to the Belgrade. I enclose a translation of this speech made from the Belgrade "Balkan". The coming of Dr. Hausler caused considerable excitement and soon after the arrival was announced of three other representatives of the Block. These duly came after consulting especially with Mr. Stojan Protitch, the dissident member of the Radical party, and with representatives of practically all other parties except the Radical party, returned to Zagreb to report. This block is now conferring regarding its attitude as to participating in Parliament and opinions are divided as to whether it will actually decide to participate now. Its sessions are described in the press as "tumultuous". The best opinion here is that Mr. Raditch finds himself between the horns of a dilemma. His party, and especially that portion of it belonging to the Croatian Union, that is the more intellectual portion of the Block, is becoming nervous at the lack of any tangible results from the present policy of staying at home and is inclining more and more towards participating in Parliament and inaugurating there a vigorous opposition to the Government. On the other hand by allowing the deputies of the Block to come to Belgrade. Mr. Raditch knows that he will be repudiating all his principles and confessing his defeat. The best opinion here is that eventually the Block or the great majority of it will feel obliged to come to Parliament although possibly not at present. One portion of the Block, namely the Frank or former Austrophile party of Croatia, has already threatened to break away in case the Block comes here and Mr. Raditch is even reported already to have expelled it from the Block on the ground of his having discovered that this party is maintaining treasonable relations with foreign, presumably Austrian, political groups.

²¹² Lukinić, Edo (Edmund) (1870. – 1928.), odvjetnik i političar. Bio je član Hrvatsko-srpske koalicije, član Središnjega odbora Narodnoga vijeća SHS-a. U Kraljevini SHS bio je član SDS-a, ministar pošta i telegrafa, pravde i predsjednik Narodne skupštine (*Ko je ko u Jugoslaviji*, 82).

²¹³ Podcrtano rukom.

²¹⁴ Häusler, Karlo (1887. – 1942.), pjesnik, književni kritičar. Njegova kratka politička karijera unutar HRSS-a bila je vezana upravo za navedeni dolazak na sjednicu Narodne skupštine, unatoč Radićevoj zabrani. Nakon ovoga prekinuo je veze s Radićem. (Ivan Peklić, „Doprinos Karla Häuslera književnom životu Hrvatske“, *DG Jahrbuch. Godišnjak njemačke zajednice. Zbornik radova 21. znanstvenog skupa „Nijemci i Austrijanci u hrvatskom kulturnom krugu“* (2014): 57-68., 61).

Should the Block come to Belgrade, the Government's majority in Parliament would be greatly reduced but it is generally said that it would still be sufficient. On the other hand while this event would undoubtedly be most desirable and would strengthen the whole Government fabric, it would undoubtedly also cause further complications in passing necessary legislation. Both the Radical and Democratic parties thoroughly appreciate the difficulties which would confront them in such a case and this has no doubt given rise to the report that if the Block should come to Belgrade, Mr. Pashitch will dissolve Parliament and call new elections. It is even said that Mr. Raditch is already negotiating with Mr. Pashitch to obtain the Government's promise that in case the Block should come here no dissolution would take place for at least six months.

Previous Despatches have reported the split into two groups of the Mohamedan party. A further split has now occurred in the Agrarian party which is now divided into no less than four groups. Frequent reports are heard of the coming formation of some new party through the combination of a number of the parties now in opposition, possibly to be joined by that portion of the Democratic party which follows Mr. Davidovitch. It is apparently well said however that although several of these parties might possibly unite on a programme of upsetting the present coalition Government, they could unite on no policy once this result was obtained. As yet there appears to be no clear evidence that any such new party is about to be formed. The Zagreb Intellectuals Congress created the Yugoslav Clubs in various parts of the country. The object is stated to be to launch an appeal to deputies of all parties to consider the questions raised at the Zagreb Congress and if favorable to them, then to join the new party. This movement appears as yet to have been productive of negative result. The nucleus of the Yugoslav Union appears thus far to consist only of Mr. Stojan Protitch and the fraction of the Agrarian party under Mr. Jovan Jovanovitch.

Meanwhile many legislative measures of the highest importance are awaiting parliamentary action. The Budget for 1923-24 (Despatch No. 1691 of the 17th instant) has lately been submitted by the Minister of Finance. Other important measures are the Agrarian (land) Bill, the Bill for classifying and improving the situation of public officials and employees (Despatch No. 1536 of August 31st 1922), the Bill for improving the situation of war invalids (Despatch No. 1657 of November 3rd 1922), the Bill for granting war indemnities, etc. Parliament has now adjourned for two weeks to allow the committees time to examine and prepare their reports of numerous bills, including several of the ones just mentioned.

I have the honor to be, Sir,
 Your obedient servant,
 H. Percival Dodge²¹⁵
 H. Percival Dodge,
 American Minister.

²¹⁵ Vlastoručno.

DOKUMENTI

Enclosures:

1. Translation from the Belgrade "Pravda" of October 12th 1922, containing the text of the resolution of the Democratic party.
2. Translations from the Belgrade "Samouprava" and "Demokratia" of October 14th and 13th 1922, containing respectively the resolution of the Radical party and the additional resolution of the Democratic party;
3. Translation from the Belgrade "Balkan" of October 18th 1922, containing the speech of Dr. Hausler.

File No. 800-D

Copies to Bucharest and Sofia.

40. 1922., prosinac 18., Dodatak Izvješću br. 1746 Henryja Percivala Dodgea State Departmentu: Izvješće konzula u Zagrebu Josepha F. McGurka poslaniku Henryju Percivalu Dodgeu o „lokalnoj političkoj situaciji“ u kojemu se govori o raspadu radikalsko-demokratske koalicije o čemu je „hrvatski pogled bio da je političko pitanje sada postalo jasno i da će puno lakše postići dogovor sa strankom (Radikalna stranka sada ima kontrolu) koja ima jedinstvenu politiku, nego što se to moglo s prošlom radikalsko-demokratskom koalicijom“.

NARA, M 358, R 3, 860H.00/162

AMERICAN CONSULATE

Zagreb, Kingdom of the S.C.S.,
December 18, 1922.

SUBJECT: Local Political Situation

The Honorable,

H. Percival Dodge,
American Minister,
Belgrade.

Sir:

It is asserted that the Cabinet crisis which has just been solved in Belgrade was provoked directly by the Congress of the independent politicians, which took place in